

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

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FM AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUXEMBOURG 00334

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR: LU

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL LUXEMBOURG REACTION TO KISSINGER SPEECH

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: SECRETARY GENERAL LUXEMBOURG MFA AND ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER PIERRE WURTH HAS PROVIDED EMBASSY, BASED ON ANNOTATED COPY OF DR. KISSINGER'S SPEECH, A LENGTHY COMMENTARY AND NUMEROUS QUESTIONS. WURTH TERMED SPEECH CONSTRUCTIVE, REFLECTING EMERGENCE OF NEW CONDITIONS AND NEED FOR FRESH LOOK AT US- EUROPEAN RELATIONS. WURTH ZEROED IN ON FOLLOWING KEY POINTS: 1) HOW IS JAPAN TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH " ATLANTIC" SOLUTION; 2) NEED FOR US TO CONSULT ALL EC MEMBERS NOT JUST LARGER POWERS:
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3) DISAGREEMENT WITH KISSINGER' S CHARACTERIZATION OF EC APPROACH IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS AS HAVING BEEN PRIMARILY REGIONAL; 4) POSSIBLE SERIOUS US UNDERESTIMATION OF EUROPEAN WILL TOWARDS UNITY; 5) STRONG AGREEMENT WITH DR. KISSINGER' S REMARKS ON DEFENSE MATTERS; 6) SENSITIVITY OF EUROPEANS TO " LIMITS... ON SCOPE OF... AUTONOMY". EMBASSY PROVIDED BACKGROUND AND EXPLANATIONS, BUT ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE AND COMMENTARY FROM DEPARTMENT WOULD BE HELPFUL. END SUMMARY.

2. IN LENGTHY SESSION WITH DCM, SECRETARY- GENERAL OF MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (AND ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER) PIERRE WURTH COMMENTED AND QUESTIONED IN DETAIL ON DR. KISSINGER' S SPEECH OF APRIL 23. WURTH SAID HE WAS PREPARING COMMENTARY AND ANALYSIS FOR GOL CABINET AND PRIME MINISTER WERNER. HE ADDED HE HAD DISCUSSED DR. KISSINGER' S SPEECH IN PRELIMINARY FASHION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER THORN PRIOR TO LATTER' S DEPARTURE FOR CHINA AND INDIA ON APRIL 28.

3. WURTH SAID HE HAD FOUND THE SPEECH CONSTRUCTIVE, ACCURATELY REFLECTING THE PREDOMINANCE OF ECONOMIC MATTERS BETWEEN THE US AND EUROPE, THE PRESENT SITUATION OF DETENTE, AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NUMBER OF NEW CONDITIONS CALLING FOR A FRESH LOOK AT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE OLD CONTINENT. FOREIGN MINISTER THORN HAD REMARKED TO WURTH JUST BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR CHINA THAT HE FOUND IN THE SPEECH A NUMBER OF THEMES WHICH DR. KISSINGER HAD DISCUSSED WITH THORN DURING THEIR MEETING IN WASHINGTON ON FEBRUARY 21. WURTH, THEN REFERRING TO HIS ANNOTATED TEXT OF KISSINGER' S SPEECH, SAID THAT THE LUXEMBOURG GOVERNMENT DID HAVE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS. THESE HE RAISED IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY CAME UP IN DR. KISSINGER' S SPEECH.

4. JAPAN - WURTH ASKED HOW, PRECISELY, WOULD JAPAN COME IN AND IN WHICH " ATLANTIC" SOLUTIONS JAPAN WOULD BE INCLUDED. DID THE US ENVISAGE JAPAN' S ASSOCIATION WITH THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY IN PRIMARILY ECONOMIC MATTERS, OR DID THE US THINKING ALSO APPLY TO THE POLITICAL, CONFIDENTIAL

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SECURITY AND MILITARY FIELDS?

5. THE PRESIDENT' S DISCUSSIONS WITH LEADERS OF WESTERN EUROPE. NOTING THAT DR KISSINGER HAD REFERRED TO PRESIDENT NIXON' S DISCUSSIONS WITH THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF BRITAIN, ITALY, THE FRG AND FRANCE, WURTH SAID THAT LUXEMBOURG AND THE OTHER SMALLER NATIONS OF THE

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WANTED ALSO TO BE INCLUDED IN SUCH DISCUSSIONS. THEY DID NOT WANT THEIR BIG EC PARTNERS GOING INTO BINDING DECISIONS AFFECTING THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE US. THE GOL, WOULD FAVOR AT THE SAME TIME SOME KIND OF A DIALOGUE WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD PERHAPS BE BETTER FOR THE US NOT TO BROACH THIS QUESTION RIGHT AWAY BECAUSE OF FRANCE'S ATTITUDE. WURTH COMMENTED THAT IT WOULD BE UP TO THE EC MEMBERS THEMSELVES TO DECIDE THE FORM OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. HE SAID THE EUROPEANS WOULD FIRST HAVE TO " WASH THEIR DIRTY LINEN IN THE FAMILY" BEFORE THEY COULD AGREE ON A COMMON POSITION DEFINING THE MEANS OF AN EC DIALOGUE WITH THE US.

6. NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER - WURTH ASKED WHAT FORM THE NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER WOULD TAKE. JURIDICIAL A DECLARATION? AN ACT REQUIRING RATIFICATION BY PARLIAMENTS? WURTH COMMENTED THAT IN THE GOL VIEW IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO TAMPER WITH THE NATO TREATY. THE GOL WOULD PREFER TO SEE A " SOLEMN DECLARATION" REFLECTING THE IDEAS BEHIND THE NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER.

7. PROBLEMS IN ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIPS - IN DR. KISSINGER'S REMARK THAT " IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS, THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAS INCREASINGLY STRESSED ITS REGIONAL PERSONALITY". WURTH SAID THE EUROPEANS WOULD HAVE TO READ A PEJORATIVE TONE. HE SAID THE GOL COULD NOT AGREE THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAD STRESSED ONLY ITS REGIONAL PERSONALITY. THERE HAS BEEN THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE EC AND THE AFRICAN/ MALAGASY STATES, WITH THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE COMMUNITY SYSTEM OF GENERAL PREFERENCES, ALL OF WHICH GO BEYOND " REGIONAL PERSONALITY". IN THE FOLLOWING PORTION OF DR. KISSINGER'S SPEECH,
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" IN OUR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE, WE ARE STILL ORGANIZED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF UNITY AND INTEGRATION, BUT IN RADICALLY DIFFERENT STRATEGIC CONDITIONS". WURTH WANTED TO KNOW THE MEANING OF THE WORD " STILL". DID THIS MEAN THE US WAS CONTEMPLATING A CHANGE? WURTH ALSO ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION IN THE NEXT FOLLOWING PASSAGE. " WE DEAL WITH EACH OTHER REGIONALLY AND EVEN COMPETITIVELY ON AN INTEGRATED BASIS ON DEFENSE, AND AS NATION STATES IN DIPLOMACY." WHAT DID THE REFERENCE TO " COMPETITIVELY" MEAN?

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C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION OF 2 LUXEMBOURG 0334

8. AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE - IN DR. KISSINGER'S COMMENTS THAT THE US EXPECTED THAT EUROPEAN UNITY WOULD FOLLOW ECONOMIC INTEGRATION " AND THAT A UNIFIED EUROPE WORKING COOPERATIVELY WITH US IN AN ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP WOULD EASE MANY OF OUR INTERNATIONAL BURDENS," WURTH ASKED SPECIFICALLY WHAT " INTERNATIONAL BURDENS" DR. KISSINGER WAS REFERRING TO. WAS VIETNAM INCLUDED? WURTH THEN FOCUSED CLOSELY ON THE SENTENCE " FOR US EUROPEAN UNITY IS WHAT IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN -- NOT AN END IN ITSELF, BUT AS A MEANS FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE WEST." HE DESCRIBED THIS AS NOT A VERY FELICITOUS FORMULA. WURTH REMARKED THAT TO THE EUROPEANS THE CONCEPT- OF EUROPEAN UNITY WAS HOLY AND THAT IT WOULD BE UNFOR-
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TUNATE IF THE US WERE TO UNDERESTIMATE THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE EUROPEANS ATTACH TO THIS CONCEPT. WURTH ALSO STRESSED THAT ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT IDEAS BEHIND

EUROPEAN UNITY WAS ALSO THE CONCEPT OF A EUROPE OPEN TO THE WORLD. IN RECENT MONTHS AND YEARS, HOWEVER, THERE HAD BEEN A GREAT DEAL FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO DIGEST, PARTICULARLY THE RECENT ENTRY OF THE UK, DENMARK AND IRELAND. AS FOR THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE WHERE DR. KISSINGER REFERRED TO THE NEED FOR ENGAGING TOP POLITICAL LEADERS IN TRADE AND MONETARY NEGOTIATIONS WHICH " REQUIRE ABOVE ALL A COMMITMENT OF POLITICAL WILL", WURTH SAID THE GOL HAD ALWAYS FELT THIS WAY AND THAT FOREIGN MINISTER THORN HAD MADE A PARTICULAR POINT OF STRONG AGREEMENT WITH THIS VIEW.

9. DEFENSE - WURTH COMMENTED THAT THE GOL IS IN STRONG AGREEMENT WITH THE PASSAGES IN DR. KISSINGER' S SPEECH RELATING TO DEFENSE. HE HIMSELF, AS THE FORMER LUXEMBOURG AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW, WAS REASSURED BY THE PHRASE " POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES" OF THE US AND EUROPE.

10. DIPLOMACY - WURTH SAID THAT DR. KISSINGER' S STATEMENT THAT " THERE IS AN INCREASING UNEASINESS THAT SUPER-POWER DIPLOMACY MIGHT SACRIFICE THE INTERESTS OF TRADITIONAL ALLIES AND OTHER FRIENDS", WAS A TERRIBLY IMPORTANT POINT. THERE COULD BE ALMOST NO LIMIT TO THE REASSURANCES WHICH THE US COULD GIVE ITS ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE SMALLER ONES, ON THIS POINT. WURTH THOUGHT THAT DR. KISSINGER' S POINT ABOUT REQUIRING " AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT SHOULD BE DONE JOINTLY AND OF THE LIMITS WE SHOULD IMPOSE ON THE SCOPE OF OUR AUTONOMY", WAS EQUALLY IMPORTANT. WURTH COMMENTED THAT LUXEMBOURG, WHILE SEEING THE NEED FOR IMPOSING SUCH LIMITS, VIEWS THIS AS AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE MATTER AMONG THE EUROPEANS AND ONE WHICH WOULD REQUIRE MUCH DISCUSSION. HE ADDED THAT DISCUSSIONS ON THIS MATTER AMONG THE EC NINE HAD PROVED TO BE THE MOST DIFFICULT OF ALL.

11. WURTH NOTED THAT A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION WOULD HAVE TO BE PAID TO THE " FORA" WHERE THE HIGH LEVEL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE US, AS ENVISAGED
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BY DR. KISSINGER, WOULD TAKE PLACE. WURTH ASSUMED THAT THESE DISCUSSIONS WOULD ENSUE PARTLY IN NATO, BUT NATO ALONE AS A FORUM WOULD NOT BE SUFFICIENT.

12. COMMENT: WURTH IS THE TOP PROFESSIONAL IN THE MFA AND REPRESENTS LUXEMBOURG AT THE REGULAR CONSULTATIONS OF THE EC POLITICAL AFFAIRS DIRECTORS. DURING DISCUSSION, WHICH LASTED ALMOST TWO HOURS, DCM PROVIDED BACKGROUND AND EXPLANATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH STATE 77673 AND OTHER GENERAL GUIDANCE. DCM ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT DR. KISSINGER PURPOSELY DID NOT SPELL

OUT THE FULL DETAILS OF US PROPOSALS, BUT RATHER THAT
WE WERE LOOKING TO THE EUROPEANS TO JOIN US IN COMING
UP WITH CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS. BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT
ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE AND COMMENTARY FROM DEPARTMENT ON
KISSINGER SPEECH WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL TO ANSWER THE
KIND OF DETAILED QUESTIONS WHICH WURTH AND OTHERS ARE
ASKING. FARKAS

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